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WHOLE No. 505



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AN ANALYSIS OF HORACE, SERMONES 1. 3.

At least three times in The Classical Weekly I have tried to show what can be accomplished towards the proper understanding of the thought of a Roman author by a careful analysis of some work of his, or of a part of some work of his, an analysis more detailed and minute than is to be found in the annotated editions, even the most elaborate. See 8.177-178, 185-186 for An Analysis of Cicero, Cato Maior (special attention is called to the second and the third paragraphs of this paper, and to page 178, note 4); 13.1-5, 9-13, 17-21, 25-31, for An Analysis of Lucretius, De Rerum Natura I-III; and 13.73-75, for An Analysis of Horace, Sermones 2.3.

In this paper, I purpose to analyze Horace, Sermones 1.3. It is assumed that the reader will have before him the text of Horace.

Horace begins with an extreme example of that very censoriousness which it is the real business of this Sermo to combat (1-sic impar sibi, 18. See Greenough's Introductory Note to this Sermo). Horace could be sure that his opening verses would attract attention: see verses 55-62, and compare the spirit of Tacitus, Agricola I, especially the closing sentences. Tacitus is apologizing for venturing to publish a biography, especially one eulogistic in character. I use the translation of Church and Brodribb (London, Macmillan, 1885):

in days gone by. . .the man of highest genius was led by the simple reward of a good conscience to hand on without partiality or self-seeking the remembrance of greatness. Many too thought that to write their own lives showed the confidence of integrity rather than presumption. Of Rutilius and Scaurus no one doubted the honesty or questioned the motives. So true is it that merit is best appreciated by the age in which it thrives most easily. But in these days, I, who have to record the life of one who has passed away, must crave an indulgence, which I should not have had to ask had I only to inveigh against an age so cruel, so hostile to all

Horace now (19) makes use of the dialogue method, by introducing an imaginary interlocutor who pointedly hints that Horace might make better use of his time in taking account of his own shortcomings (19-20). Still another example of excessive censoriousness is given in the story about Maenius (21-23).

Now it is important to note that Maenius here plays the rôle which Horace himself seemed to be playing in 1-18; it follows, therefore, that the condemnation so unhesitatingly heaped on Maenius (24) is a condemnation of censoriousness such as that represented in 1-18, i.e. of censoriousness in general. Horace and Maenius serve as convenient instances of the persons who see the mote in the eyes of others, but see not the beam in

their own1. Each, however, knows (or pretends to know) that he has some flaws himself: immo . . . minora = 'No, I am not selfdeceived; I have faults, but they are', etc. So egomet mi ignosco = 'I know I have faults, but I forgive them'. Of course we are to feel that the admission is in each case insincere.

As already noted, in 19-24 Horace used the dialogue method; yet from 25 he himself preaches at length and the piece becomes in reality a monologue².

The development of the thought in this monologue is

'Don't keep your gaze fixed so intently on the mote that is in some other man's eye that you cannot see the beam that is in your own eye <25—Epidaurius, 27>; bear in mind that others can see this beam if you can not <at . . .illi, 27-28>. Think of the other man's good points, not of his failings <29—corpore, 34>, bearing in mind always your own shortcomings <denique. . . agris, 34-37>. In so far as you do note the failings of others, act as the lover acts, or as the father acts'; in a word underestimate rather than overesti-

mate the failings of others <38-54>4.

But, alas, we do the very opposite of this; we are prone ever to exaggerate and to make the failings of others out to be worse in degree than they really are <55-66>, never realizing that in so doing we are giving justifi-cation to others for dealing in like ruthless fashion with us, for we all have our failings; we cannot really talk of the 'best' of men, we should rather talk of the 'least bad' <67—urgetur, 69>. Put a man's good points and his bad points in the scales together, and then, if there is any chance at all of doing so, incline rather to his good points <70-72>, especially if you want him to treat you with equal considerateness <73-75>. In a word, face fairly the fact that failings are inevitable and therefore be sensible in your treatment of them, meting out in every case only the punishment that fits the crime <76-95>. This we have an absolute right to do, seeing that the whole matter of punishments is the result of convention; man <not nature> established it at the outset, and so he may modify it at will <96-117>. Let there be, therefore, some rule, based on common sense, which shall keep the punishment (alike) from

It is convenient, too, for Horace to substitute another (Maenius) to bear the odium.

"Compare what happens in Horace, Sermones I.I. Horace begins by speaking in propria persona (1-40). Having managed, with consummate skill, to introduce the against seem type of human discontent (36-40), he proceeds to make the best possible use of him in verses 41-107. In 41-53 the dialogue form is preserved fairly well, though Horace displays a tendency to elaborate his own questions or to make comments on them, or on the replies of the arazys. But in 54-60 dialogue gives way to monologue by Horace, with the result that verses 61-62 take a form far different from that which they would have taken, had the dialogue been preserved. See my remarks in Transactions of the American Philological Association 45 (1914), 94-98.

"The lover either does not see his mistress's physical faults at all or he converts them into reasons for admiring her the more; the father recognizes, to be sure, the kind of his son's physical failings but never emphasizes or exaggerates their degree; indeed, he ever understates the facts (the degree of defect). The lover and the father, be it notted, display towards the physical failings of mistress and son respectively the attitude Maenius, etc. (21-25) display towards their own moral failings.

"In every case the individual considered has faults as serious in the domain of morals and conduct as the failings of Hagna and the him are in the purely physical realm. We are to understate, always, these moral shortcomings as markedly as the father and the lover understate the physical shortcomings of mistress or son.

being too severe and from being too lenient⁵ <adsit, 117. . . permittant, 123>'

Horace has now, in reality, exhausted his subject; the remaining verses of the Sermo are not in the nature of argument at alls. Horace catches up the last words which he put himself into the mouth of the imaginary interlocutor, and plays on two of the varied meanings of rex. These last verses (124-142) help to offset the very earnest and serious tone of 19-123, and at the same time pave the way to an effective closing of the discussion. The Sermo thus ends much as Sermo 1.1 ends, with a touch of pleasantry. Compare E. C. Wickham, Satires and Epistles of Horace, Introduction, page 7. note 3:

A characteristic feature of conversation is markedly imitated in the endings of the Satires, and of the Epistles which approach most nearly to this type. end generally abruptly; but just as talk is ended, when the topic threatens to become wearisome, with a jest or personal sally, or again with an epigram, fable, or story, which sums up the matter and leaves no more to be said.

CHARLES KNAPP

THE CITY OF THE EARLY KINGS

Regarding the origin of Rome scholarship is divided, and the evidence is of a very slender nature. I shall here present first the two theories that thus far have won adherents, and then shall offer what seems to me the truer explanation, namely, the blending of the two theories, a conclusion to which certain recent investigations have contributed, and to which I hope from time to time to add a suggestion of my own.

The Romans themselves believed that the first foundation on the site of Rome lay upon the Palatine. Here were the Mundus, or augural center of the city¹, the Casa Romuli, the Lupercal, or cave where the shewolf suckled Romulus and Remus, and the sacred cornel cherry-tree said to have sprung from the lance cast by Romulus from the Aventine to the Palatine. This Palatine City was supposed to have been surrounded by a wall with three gates, and by a pomerium, the spiritual boundary of the city within which the auspices might be taken. The pomerium was approximately parallel to the physical wall. The cult of the old pastoral deity, Pales, with whose name the name Palatine is thought by Georg Wissowa (Religion und Kultus der Römer², 29,201) and S. B. Platner (Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome², 33) to be connected, is associated with this hill, and the Romans of the Augustan Age considered her festival, the Parilia, held on April 21, to be the birthday of

Rome, and regarded the Palatine as the seat of Romulus's city. Modern scholars have almost unanimously accepted the Palatine as the seat of the original settlement. H. Jordan (Topographie der Stadt Rom, I, 1, 172) has even gone so far as to maintain that the ancient bits of capellacio wall at the southwest corner of the Palatine Hill were a part of the wall of this original Palatine Rome; but Professor Tenney Frank, in his paper, Notes on the Servian Wall, American Journal of Archaeology 22 (1918), 175-178, offers excellent reasons for believing that these fragments belonged to the city of the Etruscan kings. This Palatine City next, according to the prevailing view, spread its dominion across the Velia to the Esquiline and south to the Caelian, forming a much enlarged community, surrounded, according to O. Richter (Topographie der Stadt Rom2, 38, note) and Schneider (Römische Mittheilungen 10 [1895], 167-198) by a wall, and known as the Septimontium.

The evidence other than probability for the existence of the Septimontium is slight. First of all, it is the natural pathway of expansion from the Palatine. Varro (De Lingua Latina 5.41) says the name Septimontium was given to the city before it was called Rome, but the hills he mentions are those enclosed by the later Republican wall. From a fragment of Antistius Labeo in Festus (348, Müller: 476, Lindsay. But in Lindsay's text the word Septimontium does not occur here) and in Paulus Diaconus (341, Müller; 458, Lindsay) we learn that the names of these seven montes were the Cermalus and the Palatium, the Velia, the Fagutal, the Oppius and the Cispius, and the Sucusa, confused in the text with the Subura. There was, furthermore, a festival known as the Septimontium, celebrated on December 11, which included a sacrifice on each of the seven montes just mentioned (Wissowa, Religion, etc., 439, and n. 4; Platner, Topography, etc., 39). It is the sacrum pro montibus referred to by Ateius Capito (compare R. Reitzenstein, Verrianische Forschungen 46 [Breslau, 1887]) in Festus together with the sacrum pro pagis or Paganalia (245, Müller; Lindsay, 284). The theory of the existence of the City of the Septimontium has been brilliantly supported by Wissowa in an article entitled Septimontium und Subura, in his Gesammelte Abhandlungen, 230 ff. (Munich, 1904). No traces of any wall have survived to support the theory of the Septimontium, but Richter and Schneider think that a reference in Varro (De Lingua Latina 5.48) to a murus terreus Carinarum points to an earthen wall or embankment of the Septimontium.

If these first two stages in the city's growth be accepted, the next step will be across the Forum valley and the Subura to the Capitoline, Quirinal, and Viminal Hills, and the formation of the city known as the City of the Four Regions.

This earlier view has been vigorously combated in the last twenty years by a small group of scholars. Degering, in Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift (1903, column 1646), asserted that the belief in the Palatine City as the original foundation of Rome was due en-

^bThis latter point is not really stated in terms, because Horace feels strongly that the existing system erred so grievously on the side of excessive punishments. For a discussion of certain special difficulties in 120-121 see The

CLASSICAL WEEKLY 10.17-18.

So Horace, Sermones 1.1 ought to end at verse 107. See my remarks in Transactions of the American Philological Association

^{45 (1914), 101-102.}Further, Lucretius, Book 3, ought to end at verse 830; see
THE CLASSICAL WIEKLY 13.31. Indee1, the De Rerum Natura
should have ended with that verse; Lucretius should have made
his demonstration of the mortality of the soul the climax of his

¹Compare A. L. Prothingham, Circular Templum and Mundus. Was the Templum Only Rectangular?, American Journal of Archaeology 18 (1914), 302-320.

tirely to antiquarians of the Empire, who came to this opinion because many of the magistrates of the Republic and the early Emperors lived on that hill; it would flatter the aristocratic and imperial families to maintain that their district was the part of the city first settled. Furthermore, he maintained that the cults of the important deities of early Rome were wanting on the Palatine and that those of the minor divinities found there which were connected with the Romulus myth had their duplicates on the Capitoline. The Palatine, he asserted, was actually a community of later date than those on the Quirinal and the Capitoline.

In an article entitled Polis und Urbs, in Clio 5 (1905), 88-89, E. Kornemann showed that the essential meaning of the Latin word oppidum was an area terminated by a wall and a moat which surrounded it, that is, a walled town which did not include the farmland outside, while on the other hand pagus signified a district containing several farms occupied by single families not joined in a village with the houses in close proximity. The oppidum, then, constituted a fortress to which the inhabitants of the pagus could retreat in time of danger. Rome itself Kornemann believed to have grown from a number of independent hill-top communities of this sort. He held that there never had been a Septimontium City, but only a festival of that name celebrated jointly by independent hill-top communities. He asserted that Rome did not become an urbs with a pomerium until the City of the Four Regions was formed. Professor J. B. Carter, in a short and clearly presented article, entitled Roma Quadrata and the Septimontium, American Journal of Archaeology 12 (1912), 172-183, reviewed the controversy and supported Degering and Kornemann, but added little to their contentions regarding the Palatine and the Septimontium.

Kornemann, then, believed the pomerium to have been a feature only of the later developed urbs, and not of any of the oppida out of which the urbs grew. Now a pomerium, as was pointed out above, was the sacred enclosure of the city following approximately the line of the wall and marking the limits within which the auspices of the city might be taken. When the early Italic peoples founded a city, the custom was to harness a cow and a bull to a plow and with a bronze plow-share draw the circuit which was to be roughly parallel to the wall when this should afterwards be constructed. The earth thrown up by the plow perhaps represented the wall, the furrow the pomerium. The pomerium was the sacred boundary within which the gods of the city were all powerful, and without which strange or even hostile deities held sway. In marking out the pomerium the plow-share was lifted over three places, thus interrupting the furrow. These three spots corresponded to the future gates of the city. The gates were profane, not sacred, for through them many an unclean and unholy thing was certain to pass. The walls were holy, like the pomerium.

A Palatine pomerium has been described by Tacitus (Ann. 12.24) as traceable in his day. This was long

accepted by topographers. Carter, however, pointed out that the line is described in detail only from the Forum Boarium to the Ara Consi, and is merely sketched in outline thereafter; that the part described in detail is really a part of the pomerium of the City of the Four Regions. Carter considered the other three sides in Tacitus's description purely hypothetical. Perhaps Carter was right in this, but in another point in which he followed Degering I believe him to have been quite wrong. He, like Degering, made much of the supposed absence of important old cult-centers on the Palatine, and considered the Palatine to be a settlement of younger date. He cited the cults of Jupiter Feretrius on the Capitoline, Quirinus and Flora on the Quirinal. and Carna on the Caelian. But was Flora or Carna of any greater importance than Pales, and was not the Parilia one of the most important festivals of the calendar, dating from a pastoral stage of society that preceded the agricultural? Moreover, several things point to the worship of Mars on the Palatine: (1) the institution of the Salii Palatini; (2) a similarity or perhaps even closer connection between Mars, Silvanus, and Faunus; (3) the conspicuous part played by Mars in the Romulus legend and the connection of the wolf in cult with Mars.

This brings us to the Lupercalia, a festival originally for the warding off of wolves from flocks. It is, perhaps, the oldest festival in the Roman calendar, so old that it possessed elements of magic. It is not known positively in honor of what god it was celebrated. Deubner, in Archiv für Religionswissenschaft 13 (1910). 481, held that originally it was not in honor of any god, but that in the course of development it became linked with Faunus, protector of flocks and herds and their fertility. Miss M. Alberta Franklin, in her dissertation, The Lupercalia, 35-37 (New York, 1921: see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 16.117-118), decides in favor of an original wolf-deity, Lupa or Luperca. It is significant, however, that she remarks (33), ". . . it is reasonable to believe, though impossible to prove, that Mars absorbed a wolf-deity of the Ligurians, and that the wolf was in time reduced to his attendant animal", and (90), ". . . Mars, the later incarnation of the old wolfdeity. . ." The primary feature of the festival was the running of the Luperci around the Palatine, the running of the course being a charm to keep off wolves (Lupercus is derived from lupus and arceo). The running of youthful priests around the hill probably partakes of the nature of the lustratio, if it was not an actual Instratio.

The usual *lustratio*, which the Romans practised in common with other Italic peoples, was a solemn procession around an object for the sake of purifying it and averting from it hostile spiritual influences. At the head of the procession of garlanded men bearing olive branches went the special sacrificial victims of Mars, bull, ram, and hog, which were offered up after being driven three times around the sacred boundary. Prayer was a prominent feature of the *lustratio*, in addition to the procession and the sacrifice. Lydus (De Mensibus 4.155) mentions a lustral procession as a feature of the

Septimontium festival, which had to do with the city of Rome in its later developed stages2. One of the most famous of Roman religious festivals was the Ambarvalia, a lustratio of the farm in the spring. Its most prominent features were the suovelaurilia, or procession of bull, ram, and hog, and a prayer to Mars (Cato, De Agricultura 141). I believe with W. Warde Fowler (Religious Experience of the Roman People, 212) that, although Cato does not expressly state that the procession passed around the boundary of the farm, the analogy of other lustrations forbids us to doubt it, and that "the rite served the practical purpose of keeping the boundary clear in the memory". Just as the individual farm had its lustratio, so Fowler is almost certainly right in holding that each pagus had its lustratio. The Ambarvalia of the individual farm undoubtedly gave rise to a State festival of the Ambarvalia, performed by the Arval Brethren about the territory of the city, in May.

Now, if Fowler (Religious Experience, 214-215) be correct in interpreting the lustration ceremony performed at Iguvium by the Fratres Atiedii as taking place around the arx (rather than around the wall of the entire city), the analogy between this lustratio and the Roman Lupercalia around the Palatine is interesting. The Iguvine priests stopped in front of each of the three gates and offered sacrifice and prayer, Mars being one of the deities so worshipped. Gates were the weak spots in the city-wall, it will be remembered, as in tracing the pomerium the plow-share was lifted over them and they formed a break in the sacred furrow. They were profane, not holy, and so needed special protection against the entry of hostile spirits. The Iguvine lustratio must undoubtedly have taken place around a pomerium, or sacred boundary, to which the walls formed a physical counterpart. Fowler (Religious Experience, 214-215) thinks that the arx of Iguvium was really the original oppidum of the surrounding pagus. I believe Kornemann to be right in his conclusions concerning oppidum and pagus in early Italic communities. If this is so, the original settlement on the Palatine was no more than an oppidum to a surrounding pagus. It, too, was believed in antiquity to have had three gates. Kornemann is right in his contention that it was not a city in the sense of the later urbs, but only a fortress-village. He is almost certainly wrong, however, in concluding that there could have been no Roman pomerium until the time of the City of the Four Regions.

He is basing his conclusion on the statements of Macrobius (Saturnalia 5.19.13), Varro (De Lingua Latina 5.43), Livy (1.44), and Plutarch (Romulus 11), to the effect that the pomerium was an Etruscan institution, statements which scholars in general appear to have accepted without question. He believes that the City of the Four Regions was founded by the Etruscan dynasty of kings. This is obviously impossible, for the calendar of religious festivals which we know to date from the City of the Four Regions and to have been drawn up after the city reached this stage of its

growth omits all mention of the two most important cult-worships introduced into Rome by her Etruscan kings. Moreover, the plow-share used in describing a pomerium was of bronze. Now, although Macrobius (5.19.3) declares that he finds a statement in the sacred books of Tages to the effect that the Etruscans used a bronze plow-share in the ceremony of founding a city, we know that the Etruscans either brought iron with them when they entered Italy, or came in shortly after the Italic tribes had become acquainted with its use, while in the earliest Roman religious ritual iron was taboo and atonement had to be made if the gods or the priests were polluted by it. Thulin, Die Etruskische Disciplin, 3.9-10, states that the only oriental analogy of which he is aware to the Roman method of tracing the pomerium in founding a city appears in the Indian epic Mahavamsa, where the hero uses a golden plow drawn by elephants. Since the Indians were Indo-Europeans, the custom would, therefore, seem to be of Indo-European origin, and to have been adopted by the invading Etruscans from their conquered Italic subjects. Kornemann must, then, be wrong in denying that the City of the Four Regions and the pomerium antedate the Etruscan kings. This of course means that Varro and the other ancient authorities were likewise mistaken. The pomerium to them was an antiquated institution which they did not understand. Hence, if they found rules pertaining to it in the sacred books of the Etruscans, what was more natural for them than to conclude that its origin was Etruscan? It seems to me highly probable, then, that there really was a pomerium from the first around the oppidum of the Palatine. The lustral nature of the Lupercalia and the connection with this hill of Mars, the deity in whose honor lustrations about the private farm and one of the deities in whose honor those around the Iguvine arx took place, tend to confirm me in this view.

Kornemann has raised an objection against the old theories of the Palatine and Septimontium communities, to the effect that in the Septimontium ceremony the Palatine is thought of not as one hill but as two, Cermalus and Palatium, while the earlier conception of a Palatine City embraces the idea of but one hill, which would really be a later idea implying the union of two earlier settlements. So far from being an argument against the Palatine and Septimontium communities, however, this to my mind is an argument for their existence, for the original oppidum or arx on the Palatine seems undoubtedly to have been the Cermalus, which bears the reputation for greater antiquity. I believe that the Palatium was originally part of the pagus rather than of the oppidum, and was used for grazing sheep, as the name perhaps indicates; that, as the village grew, the Palatium became included in the oppidum and gave its name to the united hill, in much the same manner as the Capitolium did to the entire Capitoline. The two spurs, however, of each hill retained their original names.

Even supposing that there were other oppida on the Caelian and the Esquiline that were as early or earlier than the oppidum of the Palatine, any one who looks at

See Wissowa in Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopadie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft, under Amburbium.

a map of Rome will see that the Palatine village-fortress had to expand across the ridge of the Velia and would have been brought into inevitable conflict with any neighbors existing on the Esquiline. The Palatine was better situated geographically than the Esquiline or the Caelian, both for defence and for communication with the outside world, and would naturally have conquered its neighbors or have secured a hegemony over them, and would have impressed its personality on them even had it been of later origin. Because of the extremely primitive nature of its cults, however, there is no good reason for doubting its priority of settlement, and it seems more probable that the Septimontium, instead of being a festival of independent oppida in alliance, is the lustration ceremony of a new and enlarged community that grew out of the conquering Palatine oppidum.

Now J. Binder, in his work Die Plebs, 43–51 (Leipzig, 1909), has offered an elaborate and plausible argument in support of the old theory that, before the construction of Trajan's Forum, the Capitoline was connected with the Quirinal by a ridge of native rock³. The two hills so joined and connected with the Viminal he believes to have been united into a community that formed the rival to the Septimontium on the opposite side of the Forum and Subura valleys. This view Wissowa set forth in his article Septimontium und Subura (in his Gesammelte Abhandlungen, Munich, 1904); he failed, however, to include the Capitoline in the Quirinal City. This Quirinal City must have grown up in much the same manner as the Septimontium.

One of Wissowa's reasons for believing in the existence and the union of the two separate entities, the Quirinal City and the Septimontium, lies in the two bands of Salii, the Salii Palatini and the Salii Collini. I believe, furthermore, that Binder is working in the right direction in attaching greater weight to the legends of the early city, and recognizing that, even though names, chronology, and other details are usually unreliable, the legend often contains the germ of historical truth. Such, for instance, is that of Titus Tatius and Romulus and of the union of the Romans and the Sabines into a dual community. Between the two lay the Forum valley, which in that day seems to have been largely a marsh. The story that, in the battle between Romulus and the Sabines, Mettus Curtius nearly lost his life in a swamp in the Forum may well be founded on fact. The Lacus Curtius is the oldest landmark in the Forum.

*Until recently topographers interpreted the inscription on the Column of Trajan (C. I. L. 6.960) to mean that a ridge of the same height as this column had once connected the Capitoline and the Quirinal Hills, but had been removed in the construction of Trajan's Porum. The discovery in 1906 of the remains of houses and of the pavement of a street under the foundations of the Column upset the former theory and caused topographers to seek other interpretations of the inscription. Binder's solution is that there was a connecting wall of rock—hardly a mountain-ridge, but rather a low saddle, such as that inter duos lucos on the Capitoline. This saddle he conceives to have been incorporated into the wall of the Republic, and to have been pierced by a formix, which constituted the gate of the wall at this point. Through this natural gateway, then, passed the Clivus Argentarius, and on top of it stood a number of houses. He interprets mons in the inscription as referring to the saddle. He regards locus as Apollodorus's Latin translation of the Greek 7000, and nolds that it included the houses in and above the formix of the saddle, which would raise its height to that of the column of Trajan.

At any rate, what seems to me sure evidence of the existence of a Septimontium and a Quirinal City is the Sacra Via. As Binder has pointed out (61 ff.), the real explanation of the term Via for this street and for the Nova Via, which is a sort of adjunct to it, is that they were originally true roads outside the city and were thus just as truly highways, Viae, as the later Via Appia, the Via Flaminia, and other great arteries of travel leading out of Republican Rome. This explains what long puzzled topographers, namely, why these were the only streets within the City of the Four Regions, or in Republican Rome, which were styled viae, instead of being called by the regular term vici, or, where there was an ascent up steep or sloping ground, clivi. The Romans believed that a treaty was struck on the Sacra Via between Romulus and Titus Tatius, and on it legend placed the residences of three kings out of the traditional seven, those of Numa, Ancus Marcius, and Tarquinius Superbus (Solinus 1.21-23; Pliny, N. H. 34.29). Moreover, Tarquinius Priscus was said to have lived near the Porta Mugonia on the Nova Via (Livy 1.41; Solinus 1.24), and Tullus Hostilius on the Velia (Solinus 1.22; Cicero, De Republica 2.53; Varro apud Nonium 531). This makes a total of five Roman monarchs who dwelt on or near the Sacra Via4. On this street, moreover, in historical times were the temples of the Lares and of Vesta, the Atrium Vestae, and the Regia, as well as the house of the Rex Sacrorum. Now it is clearly recognized among scholars to-day that the public (State) cults of Vesta, the Lares, and the Penates grew out of the private cults of these deities, through the family deities of the king. The Vestals were probably originally the king's daughters, and the Vesta of the State would at one time have coincided with the king's hearth. I believe that the traditions regarding the location of the royal residences have preserved the truth, though the personages are legendary and the chronology confused. In these stories about early kingly dwellings we can trace the growth and enlargement of the City from the Palatine community to that of the Septimontium, where the monarch resided on the Summa Sacra Via. If it be true that kings dwelt on the Summa Sacra Via, where the temple of the public Lares remained and also the house of the Rex Sacrorum, who succeeded to the priestly honors of the king after the monarchy was abolished, it is not unreasonable to suppose that there were kings of a Septimontium City. Then, when the union came with the Quirinal City, thus forming the City of the Four Regions, it was only natural that the king, who was ruler of both communities, should move either from the Quirinal or from the Summa Sacra Via, farther down the Sacra Via to the point occupied by the present Regia and Atrium Vestae and the Aedes Vestae, all of which were originally one building, according to Miss Van Deman (Atrium Vestae,

We see, then, that Ancus Marcius and Tarquinius Superbus dwelt on the Summa Sacra Via near, the Temple of Jupiter Stator, Tarquinius Priscus on the Summa Nova Via near the same Temple; all three lived within the walls of the Septimontium. Numa and Tullus Hostilius dwelt on the edge of the Forum Romanum, within the walls of the City of the Pour Regions. In a word, the kings dwelt first inside the walls of their respective cities before the two cities united; later they lived on the site of the Atrium Vestae after the union of the two communities.

9). I believe there can be no doubt that it was then that this group of buildings was established in its present condition. It was then that the Aedes Vestae and the Regia took their place on the edge of the Forum, while the shrine of the Lares was left higher up the Sacra Vias. Legend commemorates this event by saying that Numa moved from the Quirinal to the Regia beside the Forum (Solinus 1.21). Moreover, it is to Numa that legend gives the credit of instituting the calendar of religious festivals which is known to date from the City of the Four Regions at a period prior to the Etruscan kings. In this the festival of Vesta beside the Forum has an important place.

I think, therefore, that the legends of royal residences on the Sacra Via, the story of the treaty here struck between Romulus and Titus Tatius, and the legend of Numa's moving from the Quirinal to the Sacra Via where it entered the Forum materially strengthen Wissowa's argument from the Salii Palatini and the Salii Collini, and Binder's argument from the term via, and prove beyond a doubt that the City of the Four Regions was formed out of two large communities, the Quirinal City and the Septimontium, not out of a number of independent oppida on the various hilltops, as Degering, Kornemann, and Carter would have us believe.

LEHIGH UNIVERSITY

HORACE WETHERILL WRIGHT

REVIEWS

A Classification of the Chitons Worn by Greek Women As Shown in Works of Art. By Albert Winslow Barker. University of Pennsylvania Dissertation. Philadelphia, 1923. Also Printed in Proceedings of the Delaware County Institute of Science, Volume IX, No. 3, at Media, Pa. Pp. 481.

Mr. Barker's dissertation consists of four parts. The first (pages 1-24) is a discussion of the different types of chitons with references to examples of each in existing works of art.

Mr. Barker applies the name chiton to all garments which are supported on the shoulders and which cover the body in a sheath-like manner. His two general classes are the familiar ones, Ionic and Doric. To one or the other of these two groups he assigns all the sheath-like garments which appear in Greek art, no matter what their nature, or whether they are the garments of men or women, Greek or barbarian, bond or free. Considerable latitude is permissible in a consideration of Greek chitons, but it would seem to be overstepping the bounds to classify as Greek all garments that happen to be represented in Greek art.

He classifies the Ionic chitons as those having (a) no sleeves, (b) true sleeves, and (c) pseudo-sleeves. He defines "true sleeves" as those which were "cut and fitted into true arm-sizes. . ." (7). This is one of the points on which one may not dogmatize, but it may well be questioned whether a sleeve "cut and fitted into <a>> true-arm" size was ever used in any Greek garment of the period with which Mr. Barker is dealing. He also states positively that the Ionic chiton was often woven in one long strip so that the width of the cloth made the length of the chiton (10). On this point no absolute evidence exists; but our knowledge of Greek looms (scanty indeed) and of ancient weaving and textiles in general makes this theory extremely doubtful. Again, he states, without authority, that the lower or skirt part of the Ionic chiton was sometimes cut flaring, that is, with a gore (7). Whoever undertakes to reconstruct the Greek Ionic chiton will find how unnecessary is such shaping, and how destructive it is to the grace and beauty of the garment.

The Doric chiton used alone Mr. Barker classifies solely with reference to the over-fold, making no distinction between the closed and the open chiton (16-21).

In his interpretation of representations of the chiton in sculpture, Mr. Barker makes numerous errors, which one will inevitably do who bases his study of costumes solely upon photographic reproductions of the monuments. For instance, he cites a figure found on the Acropolis at Athens (Bulle, Der Schöne Mensch im Altertum, Tafel 128) as an example of the Doric chiton, girt, without over-fold. But the chiton on this statue, or fragment, has an over-fold. As an example of a type of the Doric chiton, "with the neck cut and fitted to a band" (a rather astounding form for the Doric chiton, though Mr. Barker describes it as "common later" [17]), the author cites the Persephone in the Capitoline Museum (Bulle, Tafel 135), a statue of the Hellenistic period. Here he is evidently misled by the mantle which is draped across the back of the figure and attached to the right shoulder in a manner similar to that in which the back part of the real Doric chiton is attached. On the stele of Polyxena found at Thespiae, and now in Berlin (Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, XXVIII, 322, Abt. 5), he finds that the over-fold of the Doric chiton has been "cut to a point in front" (19, note 54). As a matter of fact, the point which one sees is the corner of the chiton which normally hangs among the folds at the wearer's right side, but which in this instance has been drawn away from its natural position because the over-fold in the back has been brought up over the head.

From his findings in the first part of his dissertation, Mr. Barker works out what he calls "An Artificial Key to the Types of Greek Costume" (24). In this key there are three main heads: "lonic chiton alone present", "Doric chiton alone present", and the two combined. Under these heads he has divisions and subdivisions; he recognizes seventeen different types in all Chronology is not considered in the classification.

The third part of the dissertation (25-42) consists of

^{*}Miss Van Deman (The Neronian Sacra Via, in the American Journal of Archaeology 27.304-306) recognizes the Temple of the Penates in the building formerly identified as the Templum Sacrae Urbis, that is the square portion of the modern Church of SS. Cosma e Damiano, which lies on the lower slope of the Velia immediately above the Sacra Via and a trifle east of the Regia. O. Gilbert (Geschichte und Topographie der Stadt Rom. 2.81-82) had identified the Temple of the Penates with the Heroon Romuli or round portion of the Church of SS. Cosma e Damiano fronting on the Sacra Via. Roman legend records that the Temple of the Penates was originally the house of Tullus Hostilius (Solinus 1.22; Varro apud Nonium 531).

1Part of the material is printed in American Journal of Archaeology 20.410-425. Miss Van Deman (The Neronian Sacra Via, in the American

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an elaborate classification, based upon this key, of examples of the seventeen types of costume. The examples are taken from the following sources: (1) Sculpture as reproduced in the plates of Brunn-Bruckmann, Denkmåler Griechischer und Römischer Sculptur (25-29); (2) Vase paintings, represented by the collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (30-34), and in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (35-38); (3) Grave-reliefs, from A. Conze, Attische Grabreliefs (39-42).

Mr. Barker frankly admits that there is no correspondence in the results obtained from the tabulation of examples from these three sources. How could there be? The object of the classification, therefore, and the purpose which it is supposed to serve are not clear. More than half of the tabulation deals with vase paintings, which, as compared with sculpture, are, as Mr. Barker admits (3-4), "pervaded by a wholly different spirit, a lightness that ranges from decorative prettiness to unbridled license". We may add that the aim of the painter was decorative, and that he doubtless worked from stock patterns.

The second largest space in the classification is given to sculpture as represented in the publication above mentioned. Mr. Barker admits that the originals represented here are mainly temple and votive sculptures, in which nearly all the female figures are goddesses or other immortals who are generally represented in certain types of costume.

In view of these conditions, the object of the dissertation, despite its title, would seem to be to tabulate the various forms and details used by Greek artists, and more particularly by vase painters in their decorative representations of women's dress. If this be the aim, well and good, providing the game is worth the candle.

But in part four, his closing paragraphs (43-46), Mr. Barker offers some conclusions regarding the actual dress of Greek women. He assumes, with some reason, that grave reliefs (to which he has devoted less than one-third of his tabulation) are, for the costumes really worn by Greek women, the most authoritative of his three sources. But he apparently fails to take into consideration the use of stock forms and patterns. It was the conventional thing to represent the deceased as draped in a himation, which, as Mr. Barker states, often makes it impossible to determine the style of garment or garments appearing beneath it. A careful examination of the illustrations which he has used shows that many of the costumes on the stelae which he has tabulated as a Doric over-dress over an Ionic chiton are very doubtful.

We lay down the dissertation with an uncertain feeling as to its aim, but with the firm conviction that any authoritative conclusion as to the dress of Greek women must be based on an entirely different examination of the evidence—a discriminating examination of the original sources, supplemented by practical knowledge of the way the sculptor and the painter worked (and still work) and by actual reconstruction of the garments themselves.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

LILLIAN M. WILSON

Herodotus. By T. R. Glover. University of California Press (1924).

Mr. Glover contributed his volume to the distinguished series of Sather Lectures, given at the University of California. By temperament and attitude he is admirably fitted for the task. One is moved to say of him, as he himself says of Herodotus, that he "brought something more to his work than the widest range of knowledge then available of all the world, more than accuracy and the alert inquiring intellect". He has, to be sure, enthusiasm and a wholesome respect for his subject. I have heard him relate with zest his retort to the confident pupil who was inclined to patronize Herodotus: "If you want to pat Herodotus on the back. you had better get a step-ladder". He has also a singular versatility. Traveller, sojourner in various lands, interested alike in customs and in religion, in politics and in poetry, author of solid volumes in several fields, deft translator of R. L. Stevenson into Latin Lyrics, Public Orator in the University of Cambridge, he keeps nevertheless something of Herodotus's gift of wonder, and more than a little of his quiet humor.

The titles of the chapters not only give a notion of the contents of the book but indicate the method of the author. They are I, The Place and the Man; II, The Story and the Book; III, The Old Greek Life; IV, The Barbarian Neighbours; V, The Outer Edges of the World; VI, The Rise of Freedom; VII, The Persian Wars; VIII, The Gods and the Life of Man.

After the labors of earlier scholars, and especially after the recent work of Meyer, of Macan, and of Grundy, and of How and Wells, it is not easy to say much about Herodotus that is new; and it is only fair to observe that there is little originality in Mr. Glover's book, except in the attractive arrangement of his material. But he has read his Herodotus; he has lent an attentive ear to the commentators, ancient and modern; he has culled information from inscriptions and geographies and lexicons; he knows what the anthropologists have been saying. All this he has digested soberly, as his well-documented pages show. Though he does not often quote merely to disagree, he occasionally turns aside to expose the malignity of Sayce. More important, his Scots canniness has warned him of much that had best be left unsaid; what remains, he has said with skill and charm. He has brought out clearly the human qualities of the Greek historian: his Hellenic eagerness and his sometimes puzzling reticence; his art, 'most Homeric', as Longinus calls it; his knack of telling the significant things, even when he was not himself quite aware of their full significance; his respect for the barbarian, and yet his clear perception of the chasm between the barbarian's cruelty and tyranny and the Greek's understanding of freedom and democracy. No longer can one set down Herodotus as just an amiable liar, or even as an erratic gossip. And it may be worth remarking that the finds of Egyptologists and Orientalists in our own day apparently confirm at many points the formerly discredited reports of Herodotus.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

WILLIAM CHASE GREENE

CLASSICAL ARTICLES IN NON-CLASSICAL PERIODICALS

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American Historical Review-July, Review, on the whole favorable, by Aleš Hrdlička, of Hugo Obermeier, Fossil Man in Spain; Review, by Jos. Cullen Ayer, of Pierre de Labriolle, History and Literature of Christianity from Tertullian to Boethius, translated from the French by Herbert Wilson; Review, by Dana C. Munro, of John Kirtland Wright, The Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades: A Study in the History of Medieval Science and Tradition in Western Europe [a book of very great importance to anyone interested in the study of Medieval Latin]; Review, by Herbert Wing, Jr., of Léon Homo, L'Italie Primitive et les Débuts de l'Impérialisme Romain; Review, by Dana C. Munro, of Louis Bréhier, Histoire Anonyme de la Première Croisade, and of Beatrice A. Lees, Anonymi Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolymitanorum.

Art and Archaeology—June, The Archaeological Museum at The Johns Hopkins University, David M. Robinson [illustrated].—July, Excavations at Phlius 1924, Carl W. Blegen [11 illustrations]; "La Città Morta", Della Mohr [a brief account of Paestum. 2 illustrations]; The Excavations of Ancient Utica, Byron Khun de Prorok [3 illustrations]; Notes and Comments, H. R. Fairclough [some of these notes are of interest to students of the Classics]; Review, by Arthur Stoddard Cooley, of W. Dörpfeld and H. Rüter, Homers Odyssee, 2 volumes; Review, by H. R. Fairclough, of George Henry Chase, and Chandler Rathfon Post, A History of Sculpture.

Education—October, 1924, English and Latin as Allies, Martha H. Shackford.—December, Educational Value of Latin, Theodore W. Noon [the author declares that Latin rightly taught "cultivates the power of expression through the selection of words, weighing, discriminating, comparing—relating words to thoughts"].

Geographical Review—April, Ancient Trade Routes from Carthage into the Sahara, Byron Khun de Prorok.

Illinois, University of, Bulletin of, Volume XXII, No. 12, 1924—Latin in High Schools <this is known also as Educational Research Circular No. 32>.

Indiana University Alumni Quarterly—April, Reconstructing a Past Civilization, Selatie E. Stout.

Journal des Savants—January, Une Lettre de l'Empereur Claude aux Alexandrins, P. Jouguet.

Journal of Educational Research—November, 1924, A Latin Comprehension Test, B. L. Ullman and T. J. Kirby. Medical Journal and Record—April 1, Modern Medical Ethics and Those of Plato [pages 429-431]; Medicine, Jonathan Wright, M.D. [Dr. Wright refers to Plato, Republic, Phaedrus, Charmides, Aristotle, etc.].

THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY

Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bulletin of the-April, The Aeneid Enamels, Joseph Breck [an account of painted enamel plaques with subjects from the Aeneid produced at Limoges, in France, about 1525-1530. The Museum owns nine of these plaques in all. The article gives photographs of eight recently acquired, with a brief description of each]; Recent Accessions of Ancient Marbles, Gisela M. A. Richter [five illustrations].-May, Athenian Red-Figured Vases, Gisela M. A. Richter [ten illustrations]. -June, Votive Gifts to Artemis Orthia, Margaret E. Pinney [10 illustrations]; New Mycenaean Reproductions [brief note, unsigned, pages 159-160] .-July, Jewelry and Miscellaneous Small Antiquities: Recent Accessions, Christine Alexander [8 illustrations]; The Restoration of Ancient Bronzes, a review, by Ellwood Kendrick, of the book entitled The Restoration of Ancient Bronzes and other Alloys, by Colin G. Fink and Charles H. Eldridge [4 illustrations].

National Geographic Magazine—August, Tripolitania, Where Rome Resumes Sway, Col. Gordon Casserly <28 illustrations>; Under Italian Libya's Burning Sun, Luigi Pellerano <9 Autochromes Lumiere> [these two articles are curiously interlaced. The second consists of illustrations only].

New Republic—December 10, 1924, Twilight of the Classics lapparently unsigned; adverse to the Classics].

Peabody Journal of Education—July, Translation for Literary Appreciation, Charles E. Little.

Preussische Jahrbücher—April, Parteikämpfe im Hellenistischen Alexandrien, Arthur Stein.

School and Society—February 28, The Trend in the Study of Foreign Languages in American High Schools, Oscar H. Werner.—May 2, The Value of Latin in the High-school Study, W. W. Comfort.

The School Review—January, Review, favorable, by Marjorie Fay, of Maud Reed, Julia, A Latin Reading Book.—April, The Story of the Fasces at the Central High School <Cleveland, Ohio>, Helen M. Chesnutt; Review, favorable, by Mima Maxey, of John Jackson, Hannibal's Invasion of Italy (Livy, Books XXI—XXII—partly in the original, partly in translation).

Ungarische Jahrbücher—June, Der Untergang der Römerherrschaft in Pannonien, Andreas Alföldi. CHARLES KNAPP